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MEANING OF THE UPRISING

Beginning of the end for U.S. in Korea? People have had it

By Charles R. Allen Jr.

THE RECENT Korean uprisings—which forced at least the temporary resignation of Syngman Rhee—probably mark the beginning of the end of the American occupation and domination of Korea south of the 38th Parallel. This is the ultimate meaning of the student-led revolts that shook the world last month. Although American control will not be withdrawn overnight, a consideration of the dilemma that now confronts American policymakers makes it clear that the State Department's days in Korea are numbered.

The depth and character of the dilemma can be seen even more clearly if, at the same time, one realizes that the recent uprisings were directed solely at the Rhee regime for its long and well-known excesses. The uprisings reflect even more the determination of the Korean people to unite their nation so that they may continue their own revolutionary development which has been periodically and brutally postponed since 1945. The postponements, incidentally, were brought about by the very folly which created the dilemma that today confronts Washington.

TERRORISM UNDER RHEE: The regime of Syngman Rhee was created, imposed upon the Korean people and maintained for over 12 years in the face of their deep and mounting unrest by force of American arms. Murder and fraud marked the elections of 1948, 1953, 1956 and 1958. More than $4 billion have been poured into South Korea since 1946 and nobody can accurately estimate the hundreds of millions that have swollen the pockets of the Rhee regime through the blatant graft and corruption in the army.

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THEY WEEP FOR THEIR SONS SHOT DOWN BY EISENHOWER'S "TREMENDOUS PATRIOT"
Korean mothers mourn the students killed in demonstrations that forced Rhee to quit

Timothy, Sunday Times, London

5,000 IN JAIL, MANY IN HIDING AS AFRICANS BIDE TIME

South African government insists on suicide

By Kumar Goshal

THE SOUTH AFRICAN government goes its suicidal way, twisting facts to suit its fancy, misinterpreting events to fit its theory of apartheid.

It continues to arrest people without warrant, charges or trial. Nearly 5,000 Africans, Asians and whites are in jail incommunicado; newspapers and even close relatives are not permitted to divulge their names. A prisoner petitioning the government cannot sign his name; he identifies himself only by his number.

A REIGN OF FEAR: Among those arrested are counsel for the defense of Africans jailed earlier; in some cases both husbands and wives have been arrested, leaving their children without means of support. Several known progressives are in hiding; a few have managed to slip across the border. George Clay of the London **Observer** reported (April 23):

"Others go about their normal daily routine but take the precaution of sleeping out. Spare beds in uncommitted households are at a premium. Briefcases bulge with a change of shirt and pajamas. Telephone conversations have become almost unintelligible under their guarded circomlocutions. . . . Many telephones today wear the most curious swaddling clothes, since word got around about a device which makes tapping possible even with the receiver on the hook, the telephone acting as a form of microphone."

The omnipresent government terror and fear of arrest persuaded the 30 defendants in the notorious four-year-old treason trial to dismiss their lawyers because they claimed that defense witnesses could put themselves in danger of arrest if they testified.

A "HAPPY" PEOPLE: Accompanying its repressive measures, the government continued its transfer of Africans to outlying reserves, where it attempted to brainwash them into accepting apartheid and an inferior status. New York **Times** correspondent Homer Bigart (April 28) reported that, at Umtati in the Transkei reserve, government officials were instructing tribal chiefs in such amenities as "table manners, proper dress and polite behavior." In classrooms, Bigart said,

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KOREA, TURKEY, VIETNAM AND WHAT'S NEXT?

Reapers of hate: American foreign policy 10 years after

A little over ten years ago, in its issue of June 28, 1950, the NATIONAL GUARDIAN carried a lead story headed: "War in Korea—the real facts." Thus began a campaign against the U.S. intervention in Korea which cost us dearly in readership and in the business office during the height of the Truman-McCarthy hysteria. The GUARDIAN persevered, thanks to the support of the enlightened readership which held fast, and today is able to look back to a time when revulsion by the American people as a whole against "the most senseless war in our history" forced an armistice and vindicated our position.

Last month the student rebellion in South Korea underscored the futility of American foreign policy as it has persisted in the intervening ten years. Also in Turkey, where Eastern lackeys were preparing to sit down with Washington's representatives at a NATO conference, the students rose up against the tyranny of the local rule. And in South Viet Nam, another bastion of the free world, unrest against the incredible corruption spawned by American dollars, broke into the open.

Still Washington slogs ahead with its SEATO and CENTO organizations, going through the motions required of a self-anointed protector of freedom (for unpopular rulers who wouldn't last a week without American guns and dollars). This policy of negativism, directed against the socialist world, is as insane today as it was ten years ago—as is apparent in the editorial reprinted herewith. Entitled "Reapers of hate: Is freedom for U.S. only?", it appeared in the issue of the GUARDIAN dated July 5, 1950. The "Dear Mr. President" was Harry S. Truman.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Two days after the outbreak of civil war in Korea, you ordered U.S. navy and air units to enter the fight—to start killing Koreans with guns and bombs for which we—yes, we progressives too—helped to pay. Then you ordered more intervention against "communism" throughout Asia.

On Tuesday you said: "Men will always long for protection against the midnight arrest, the slave camp, the torture chamber. Men will never accept these things as right."

What an apt analysis of the Korean outbreaks! Especially when one reads it in the New York **Times**, whose

(Continued on Page 3)

THE MAIL BAG

The bolted door

LITTLETON, MASS.

Following the events in Geneva has numbed my reasoning powers.

Jules Moch of France received the "honor" of stating the West's position.

At the end of the conference, the Soviet delegate, Mr. Zorin, remarked that M. Moch seemed more "flexible" than our Mr. Eaton. Mr. Moch smiled and said perhaps Mr. Zorin should take another look at the text of his remarks. Mr. Zorin might find, he said, that the French delegation was not quite so "flexible."

Here we have the spectacle of Western delegates, whose job it is to explore every means of obtaining a start toward disarmament, blocking every attempt that might open that much desired door.

James Pace Jr.

In one word

ALAMEDA, CALIF.

Wonderful is the word for the job you're doing! Sure hope you can keep it up.

Robert Dwinell

[illegible] bill of all

NEW YORK, N.Y.

In your very good listing of pending anti-civil liberties bills, there was an unfortunate omission of the bill which is probably the most dangerous—S. 2652. This is an omnibus bill compiled by Sen. Keating (R-N.Y.) and Sen. Dodd (D-Conn.), two freshmen Senators who are apparently trying to make a name for themselves by fighting against civil liberties.

S. 2652 combines the threats of H.R. 1992 (extending the application of Chapter 37 of Title 18 U.S. Code, relating to espionage and censorship), with H.R. 6817 (extending the foreign agents registration act), with H.R. 2369 (broadening the definition of "organize" in the Smith Act), with H.R. 9069 (the worst of the various passport bills pending before Congress).

All readers of the GUARDIAN should write their Senators to be on guard against efforts by the chairman of the Judiciary Committee, Sen. Eastland (D-Miss.) to push S. 2653.

Clark Foreman, Director
Emergency Civil Liberties Committee

For Hugh Hardyman

CLARKESVILLE, GA.

The progressive movement has suffered a grievous loss in the death of Hugh Hardyman. By way of tribute perhaps you can find space to print this one of his best but least-known poems.

Fred and Bertie Blossom

FREE CHOICE

How can young men learn that
 they are free?
From school and college,
 Congress, pulpit, press
Comes not a hint from which a
 youth could guess
That he still has a choice of
 what to be.
All voices tell him he is but a cog
In the inflexible machine which
 grinds
Korean cities, people, bodies,
 minds
To ashes, as a pulp-mill grinds a
 log.
To be a killer is his destiny,
All cry in chorus.
 And the lad whose soul
Revolts against all killing does
 not know
It is not true—that he can still
 say NO,
Refuse to make a murderer's life
 his goal,
And, choosing prison, still be
 free.

Hugh Hardyman

•

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

In memory of Hugh Hardyman who lived with wisdom and courage and found his faith in the common man to be not a mirage but the very substance of reality.

Stephen H. Fritchman

CCF builder

JENKINS, MINN.

The article in the GUARDIAN by Harvey O'Connor—"People are first in Saskatchewan"—was very interesting to me, as I was a citizen in that province. I was active in aiding to promote the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) when that system was struggling for recognition. When I left Saskatchewan in 1937, the province was in a hopeless mess. Now under the CCF and statesmen to guide it, the progress made is amazing.

Robert Scherlie

Favorably inclined

MILWAUKEE, WISC.

Sometimes I think of myself as a minority Southern Negro, denied equal rights by "democratically-minded majorities. Along comes some Sen. Joe Popoff claiming civil rights legislation should be defeated because it is an "important element" in the party line of Communism. If I were a Negro I would certainly investigate more closely an organization which the enemy claimed is my benefactor.

If I were a Negro and my only benefactors in the South were Communists, I would surely be favorably inclined toward such a group since they would be the only people speaking my language and in my corner.

Manfred G. Koehler

Time marches on

NEW YORK, N. Y.

One hundred years ago, Charles Darwin published his **Theories of Evolution by Natural Selection;** 65 years later came the Scopes evolution trial in Dayton, Tenn. Another 35 years later A. D. 1960, University of Illinois biology professor Leo Koch is fired for speaking frankly to university students about biology, the science of life, applicable to the entire field of human experience.

His students' vehement protests give promise that it will not be decades again until a mature America looks back in wonder at this medieval decision.

H. Beck

Dyad, London Daily Worker

"The trouble is, Butch, every time we threaten to resume tests, they threaten us with peace."

Team spirit

MIAMI, FLA.

Here are eight names of students from the U.S.S.R., who would like to correspond with students in the U.S.

Men: Makhmud Ashrapov, 22; Rakhim Jabbarov, 23; Saidamin Akhmedov, 20; Abbas Iriskulov, 21.

Women: Yusupova Khamro, 21; Ganieva Makhmuda, 18; Kasimova Rikhsi, 21; Japarova Rano, 20.

All have the same address: Pen Friends Club, Institute of Foreign Languages, Tashkent, U.S.S.R.

John Hribar

Rule of the bigot

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The Polonia Club on April 2 unanimously decided to register our protest against the un-American activity permitted in the southern states of denying equal citizenship to Americans because of color.

We urge the President to take a firm stand and condemn the foul practice of racial segregation and replace the rule of the bigot and Nazi-like official with the law of democracy and equality of man.

Casimir Nowacki

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Riots in Seoul, Korea, last week were cited yesterday by Col. Ben C. Limb, South Korean Delegate to the United Nations, as evidence that the country enjoys democracy.

"The very fact that such disturbances occur," he said on the WNEW-TV "Metropolitan Probe" program, "is the proof we have the freedom to express ourselves in Korea."

"We never expect to see such disturbances in Communist countries because nobody can express his true opinion," he added.

At least 124 demonstrators were killed in the riots.

—N. Y. Times, April 25

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: S.K., Brooklyn, N.Y.

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

Cost of World War II

SEVENTY-FIVE MILLION lives (26,000,000 murdered in concentration camps).

Homes of 150,000,000 people.

Money enough to provide every family in the U.S., Britain, Canada, Australia, Ireland, France, Germany, Russia and Belgium with:

- a $30,000 home
- $10,000 worth of furniture
- $40,000 in cash

plus $150,000,000 worth of schools, hospitals and libraries for every city of over 200,000 population in each of those countries.*

Five Years After

The U.S. is spending more on war preparations in one week than on education for a whole year.

Britain is spending more for military purposes than for health, housing and education put together.

* Figures from Intl. Review of Diplomatic and Political Science, Geneva.

WANT A THIRD? IF NOT, SAY SO!

—From the National Guardian, May 10, 1950

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REPORT TO READERS

An honored faith

THE MEMORIAL MEETING for the late Louis E. Burnham of the GUARDIAN staff April 28 was a glowing, warm and meaningful evening. Our editor, James Aronson set the mood for it:

"We gather not to mourn Lou Burnham, but to honor him and his life, and his faith. Your presence in this hall, and the voices you will hear in person, by message and by recording, will bear witness to the enduring justice and beauty of his life and faith."

Each speaker and message did bear witness to these qualities, but all did something further. In each instance they linked the life and work of Louis Burnham to the great upsurges taking place toward human equality in the world today, and paid tribute to his effectiveness in the activities and movements toward this end to which he devoted some 20 years of unceasing effort.

MRS. MODJESKA SIMKINS of Columbia, S.C., recalled the formative years of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, with meetings held literally under the guns and blackjacks of the notorious police chief "Bull" Connor in Birmingham.

"Hell itself is not worse than Birmingham, Alabama," she remarked, telling of the struggles of those years. But, as Dr. James Jackson said earlier in the evening, "they plowed a deep furrow in hard land, turned up the rich, brown loam and planted sturdy pines, to withstand the winds of prejudice and race hatred."

ASBURY HOWARD, the burly vice-president of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, who has himself suffered beatings and jail in the fight against jimcrow in the steel mills of Alabama, said:

"Segregation is dead! The big decision now is, when we're going to bury it."

"You up here," he told his New York audience, "can give a little time to picketing those stores," meaning the Woolworth, Kresge, Kress and Grant chains which are the main targets of the campaign. Howard noted that the Woolworth executive offices are in New York's celebrated Woolworth Building, and urged New Yorkers to press here for the changes in Woolworth policies in the South.

ALSO FROM ALABAMA came a message from Prof. L. D. Reddick of Alabama State College, who could not attend the meeting because of "a small revolution on our hands here." Of Louis Burnham's work on the GUARDIAN, Prof. Reddick wrote: "He had mastered the difficulty of relating the inner pattern of Negro life to external forces with fetness and clarity."

Through Rose Russell of the New York Teachers Union, the audience learned that his junior high school teacher in New York, Lucille Spence, said that of all the students she ever had, she was the proudest of Louis Burnham. And teen-aged Phillis Strong, a neighbor of the Burnham family and daughter of the late Ed Strong, a close colleague of Louis Burnham and Dr. Jackson in Negro youth work, said of her "second father":

"He was a friend of youth, and gave his life for us."

FOND AND APPRECIATIVE TRIBUTES came from many others: Fred Jerome, a recent graduate of the College of the City of New York, Burnham's college; Dr. W. Alphaeus Hunton, soon to go to Africa as professor of English at the new university in Guinea; John Abt, former general counsel of the Progressive Party; and from his colleague in publishing the monthly **Freedom**, George B. Murphy Jr., now of the Washington staff of the **Afro-American**. Nadyne Brewer, soprano, sang two beautiful selections accompanied by Carroll Hollister; and Paul Robeson sent an exalting message by tape recording from England.

BUT IT WAS Lou Burnham's oldest friend, 92-year-old Dr. W. E.B. Du Bois, who uttered the sobering note which set the audience to looking with concern at one another.

"The greatest tribute we can now pay to the life of Louis Burnham," he said, "is to look around us at our friends who are doing the world's work, and pick out, as we easily can, those who are working too hard and trying to do too much."

What Dr. Du Bois had to say is of such relevance to every GUARDIAN community that we will print his full talk in a future issue.

The memorial meeting audience of some 700 received brochures in behalf of the Louis E. Burnham Fund, established to provide for the well-being of his family and the education of his four children. The trustees are Shirley Graham Du Bois, John T. McManus and Murphy. Contributions may be sent in care of the GUARDIAN.

CLASH OF WITNESSES SEIZED AS EXCUSE

Sen. Dirksen blocks hearings on drug industry abuses

THE SENATE ANTITRUST and Monopoly subcommittee cut short its drug hearings April 28 after four physicians got into a hot argument over whether a new anti-diabetic drug was dangerous. Peter Chumbris, counsel for the committee's Republican members, warned that continuation of the argument in public could "scare the daylights" out of the 600,000 persons taking oral anti-diabetics.

Sen. Everett M. Dirksen (R-Ill), who had been trying for weeks to squelch the hearings, took advantage of the situation to stall further sessions. Committees need unanimous consent to hold sessions while the Senate is in session; Dirksen refused consent. Committee chairman Estes Kefauver (D-Tenn.) said that hearings would resume this week. But Dirksen indicated he would continue to block the sessions until "better guide lines" are worked out.

The argument was touched off by Dr. Henry Dolger, chief of the diabetes clinic at Mount Sinai Hospital in New York, who claimed that Diabinese, a new anti-diabetic drug administered orally, had dangerous side effects. He criticized the Food and Drug Administration for approving the drug. "At the time of application to the FDA," he said, "some 2,000 case reports were submitted [by the manufacturer] and despite the inclusion of 43 deaths and a number of instances of jaundice, the drug was passed for public sale in 1958."

HOT EXCHANGE: When Dolger finished his statement, John E. McKeen, president of Chas. Pfizer & Co., manufacturers of Diabinese, jumped to his feet and shouted: "A very serious misstatement of fact has been made by Dr. Dolger. The patient and doctor relationship will be adversely affected."

Sen. Alexander Wiley (R-Wisc.), acting chairman in Kefauver's absence, allowed McKeen to call forward Dr. Robert C. Warner and Dr. Robert M. Rees of the Pfizer staff to seats beside Dr. Dolger at the witness table. Dr. George J. Hamwi of Ohio State University took a post behind them. A four-way argument followed.

Warner and Rees took turns attacking Dolger's testimony. Warner said there were only 29 known jaundice cases out of 60,000 patients treated.

Rees wanted to know what Dolger had done with the 52,000 Diabinese tablets the company had sent him. Dolger had said that he refuses to prescribe the drug.

RECESS CALLED: Hamwi disputed Dolger's claim of 43 deaths. "I know of only four deaths that could be related to the taking of Diabinese," he said. "And after very careful study of these cases it was concluded that all might have been avoided."

The committee staff then read a 1958 memo from Dr. Dominic G. Iessoni, who had been in charge of Pfizer tests, to McKeen: "The gastrointestinal side effects of nausea, vomiting and epigastric distress, although less frequent at the lower dosage levels, are still more frequent than generally noted with Orinase [a competitor product]. Of the side effects noted with Diabinese medication the jaundice and exfoliative dermatitus [skin rash] are particularly outstanding when one realizes that to date there has been no reported instance of these complications in patients treated with Orinase."

At this point Chumbris suggested that the debate should not continue in public and the hearings were recessed.

PRICES CHALLENGED: Earlier, Kefauver debated with Dr. E. Gifford Upjohn, president of the Upjohn Co., manufacturers of Orinase, over the high cost of the drug and the company's tight control over its sale. Upjohn testified that a German firm, Farbwerke Hoechst, discovered tolbutamide, the generic name for Orinase, and licensed Upjohn as its exclusive seller in the United States. Upjohn tested the drug for three years, he said, before putting it on the market.

Kefauver said that the "highly restrictive agreements" between Hoechst and Upjohn were "in restraint of trade" because they eliminated American competition. He suggested that the Justice Dept. should investigate for possible antitrust violations.

Kefauver also questioned the company's pricing policy. Committee economist John Blair said that it cost Upjohn $1.30 to produce 100 Orinase tablets, which are sold to druggists for $8.30 and, in turn, to consumers for $11.50.

Upjohn challenged the figures. He produced his own charts but they covered all Upjohn products. An analysis of Orinase costs alone, he said, could not be made.

HIGH PROFITS: Kefauver observed that Upjohn's profits in 1958 were 13.7% of sales compared with 4.1% for all manufacturing. "Profits in medicines people have to take shouldn't be any greater than on other products," he said.

Upjohn answered: "You can't compare one industry with another that way."

The Federal government is apparently capable of comparison shopping. The Army-Navy-Air Force **Journal** reported last month that the Military Medical Supply Agency bought 5,760,000 antibiotic tablets from an Italian company for about $500,000. The lowest bid by an American company was over $1,000,000.

The Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Assn. protested the purchase to the Controller General and the State Department on the grounds that it violated American patents and was in conflict with the Buy American Act.

THE SINS: Dr. Alek A. Rozental of St. Louis University is expected to be a witness when the hearings resume. In an article called "The Strange Ethics of the Ethical Drug Industry" in the May issue of **Harper's** magazine, he wrote: "There

Pierotti, New York Post

are few industries whose social usefulness exceeds that of the pharmaceutical manufacturers. And there are few whose sins have evoked more indignation . . .

"The drug industry's favorite defense of its high returns is the fact that it spends more than three times as much on research, in proportion to sales, as does American industry as a whole. But in fact for every pharmaceutical dollar spent on research four are spent on promotion and selling. Moreover, much of this research money goes into 'development,' which consists chiefly in devising new dosage forms and combinations of ingredients."

Rozental proposed the establishment of a board of distinguished physicians, chemists, pharmacologists and statisticians, which would license investigators to test new drugs. The investigators, under the board's supervision, would test for effectiveness and compare with existing drugs for therapeutic effect and price. Food and Drug Administration licenses would depend on favorable reports from the investigators.

Rozental said this would eliminate many of the high pressure selling techniques, lower the cost to consumers and "should be a long step toward restoring the standards of morality and responsibility that entitle an industry to call itself 'ethical.'"

Rich, minor—and white?

IF I TRY and put myself in the place of a Russian now, I think I should be more anxious about China than . . . about the Western countries. After all, Russia is now part of the rich minority of the human race. She's on our side of the line.

—**Arnold Toynbee**, British historian

Israel Folk Music Festival on May 7 in New York

YOUNG ISRAELI SOPRANO Rakhel Hadass will sing Mid-Eastern folk songs in Hebrew, Arabic, Ladino and French at Hashomer Hatzair's Israel Folk Music Festival, Sat., May 7, at the High School of Fashion Industries, 225 W. 24th St., New York City. Miss Hadass will be accompanied by Gil Aldema, Israeli composer and accordionist.

Paul Draper, dancer, will be guest artist of the program. He will present dance improvisations to the music of Gunther Sprecher, Israeli composer and concert pianist, and to the folk songs of Mort Freeman.

Tickets and information may be obtained from Hashomer Hatzair, 112 Fourth Av., New York 3, N.Y., GR 3-4747.

The reapers of hate

(Continued from Page 1)

man in Korea has recently been describing the midnight arrests, slave camps and torture chambers in that country.

But we must conclude that either you don't read the **Times**, or you are standing on your head. For it was not in **North Korea**, but in "your" **South Korea** that these things were described.

NATIONAL SECURITY is, as reported, "the primary interest" behind your decision to order Americans into the fight. You indicate that this security is endangered by a threat to a midnight-arrest, slave-camp, torture-chamber regime 6,000 miles across the Pacific.

Will you not consider the relation of these facts to our nation's security?

- The U.S. has already intervened to the tune of billions of dollars and millions of lives in China. Now it has undertaken to use our Navy to protect in Formosa the remnant of Chiang Kai-shek's regime—condemned by your own State Department as hopelessly corrupt. Result: hatred for the U.S. sown in the hearts of 450,000,000 Chinese.
- The U.S., directly or through its cold-war allies, is now interfering and killing in Viet Nam, Malaya and the Philippines as well as in Korea, as we have already done in Indonesia, in Greece—and, yes, in the land of Israel too! Can we expect the people of these lands to esteem us for this?
- More than half the people in the world—1,223,111,000—live in Asia. You seek to woo them to U.S. policies. They have dark skins, Mr. President. For generations they have been suffering the midnight arrests, slave

THIS IS THE HARVEST REAPED IN KOREA
Can the Asians ever esteem us for this?

camps, torture chambers—and starvation—of white rule. Is it by showering them with bombs that you will now turn their hearts to love of their oppressors?

If you have any military advisers who dare to be objective, they will tell you that your intervention in Korea and elsewhere in Asia can at best do nothing more than spread guerilla bands all over the map. For as you so rightly say:

"Men will never accept these things as right."

IF YOU HAVE ANY spiritual advisers who dare to speak for the Judeo-Christian ethic, they will tell you that your actions have no justification in religion.

If you have any scientific advisers who dare to be scientific, they will tell you that you are acting in a manner reminiscent of King Canute, who ordered the ocean to recede.

If you have any advisers in logic—but no, that is clearly not the case.

Do you really think that your talk of "communism" and "totalitarianism" means anything to the people of Asia? Did you ever see your brother starve to death before your eyes, your daughter sold into prostitution for a few grains of rice? Can you not even now force your mind into action to try and conceive how that feels?

PERHAPS, if you don't read the **Times**, you read the New York **Herald Tribune** or one of the other papers in which Walter Lippmann's column appears. If so you will have read this on June 29:

"Always it is necessary for the Westerners to participate in the fighting itself. Never yet has it been necessary for the Russians to do that. This is on many counts a profoundly disturbing contrast between the Soviet and the Western position in Asia."

Mr. President, do you ever wonder why this is so?

The other half of humankind have a right to live their lives, to rise in revolt against oppression, to unite their peoples. They have a right to expect that a nation such as ours, born in one of the world's historic revolutions, will respect this right. They can have no feeling but hatred for the nation which directs armed might against them.

The rising tide of hatred against America can be turned, Mr. President, but not with jet bombers. This tide can be turned only with understanding, help and friendship—and a final end to white exploitation of the rest of the world.

—**The Editors of the Guardian**

Meaning in Korea

(Continued from Page 1)

government, police and business.

For years, organized gangs of armed hoods—the so-called Young Men's Groups—trained largely by Rhee's favorite general and one-time Kuomintang agent, Lee Bum Suk, whose avowed fascism was known to the American command as early as 1946—have been raiding the Korean countryside, terrorizing the people with the assistance of the hated Japanese-trained police.

For the last five years, Rhee tightened his dictatorship while the State Department insisted he was "the father of his country," the only "strong man" capable of "fighting the Communists."

STUDENT UPRISINGS JOLT U.S.: Rhee summarily arrested more than a dozen assemblymen who resisted a constitutional change in 1955 that permitted Rhee's re-election despite the law limiting the president to two terms. His police clubbed opponents of his Tukyong (Presidential Decree) out of the National Assembly hall when they tried to modify his so-called "security law" that made it a crime to criticize Rhee.

Last year, Rhee abolished the newspapers still remaining outside his immediate control. The one-time collaborator and police chief, Chough Pyong Ok, ironically one of Rhee's earliest supporters, was beaten by the Young Men because the Rhee regime was becoming too much even for Chough. (He died this year as a result of the beating.)

More murder and fraud in the rigged 1960 elections triggered the demonstrations which swept like tidal waves across South Korea. Until then the United States had not lifted a finger or said a word in criticism of the Rhee regime. It had not done so for the simple reason that, through Rhee and his regime, Washington intended to make South Korea the "democratic" bastion against Communism in Asia.

THE TARGET WAS CHINA: At every turn, American policy had deliberately implemented its involvement on the Korean peninsula exclusively through the extreme Right forces around Rhee. All attempts to modify and "liberalize" the regime were turned aside so that the U.S. could build up the largest anti-Communist military force on the Asian mainland and maintain its air bases on Korean soil as a pivotal part of the Western strategic system ringing China.

This was more than a choice between a "bad" dictator and the more "liberal" autocrats who "oppose" Rhee. It represented a deep commitment. This in turn meant that the United States had to tolerate all of the Rhee regime's anti-democratic excesses up to the point where they threatened the existence of the regime and the role it played as the vehicle for American policy in South Korea, vis-a-vis the Chinese mainland. The April 19 riots indicated that this point had been reached if not already passed.

Even after the "rebuke" from Secretary of State Herter, Rhee stubbornly refused to step down because he shrewdly realized he could jockey for position and time. He spoke of semi-retirement and State Department did not object. But the people did and the student-led rebellion forced Rhee's resignation, drove Vice President-elect Lee Ki Poong to suicide, sent the leaders of the police into hiding and won a promise of new elections in three months.

WHAT CHOICE NOW? In the meantime, the U.S. behaved publicly as if it approved of the rebellion from the start and talked glowingly of "atonement" for the "mistakes" of an old man's regime. But this talk, and the convening last week in Washington of the 14 nations who fought under the U.S. direction during the Korean War, were just so much window-dressing intended for global propaganda to take the edge off the macabre picture of U.S.-sponsored South Korea that was revealed to the world.

Now that Rhee no longer formally heads the South Korean government, what choices lie before the American policymakers? They say that the nonentities who fill the void until the promised elections in July are "unknowns"; but they mean that the only organized force acceptable to American policy in Korea as now constituted is Rhee's Liberal Party. The genuine moderates—like Kim Koo and Kimm Kiu-Sic—fled with their followers to North Korea in 1949. There is now no viable grouping left in South Korea because American commitment to Rhee foreclosed this possibility in 1948.

There is of course—and has been since 1945—an active and effective underground movement throughout South Korea. **Reuters** carried dispatches last week reporting "organized" guerilla warfare against police outposts by students and peasant-workers in the provinces of North Chulla, South Chulla, North Kyung Sang and South Che Ju. These areas have always been centers of known resistance against Rhee.

NO REAL CHANGE: A coalition of the moderate leadership which fled to North Korea, along with the Left worker-peasant forces in the underground and the student-led elements in Seoul, could be quickly organized in South Korea, but it is difficult to visualize the State Department's countenancing such a combination. The foremost demands of these elements—easily the largest and most popular grouping in South Korea—would be for the immediate withdrawal of United Nations troops (that is, 50,000 American GIs and a brigade of Turks), a formal rapprochement with Pyongyang and the holding of all-Korea elections to unify the nation.

The U.S. of course will not take such a step. Instead there will be a pretense to "reform" the police by juggling appointments; "constitutional amendments" providing for parliamentary government instead of the present dictatorship; vows to clean up corruption and erase the poverty of the masses; high-sounding resolutions to repeal the repressive laws assiduously built into the fabric of South Korea for 15 years. These repressive measures are, in reality, based on two USAMGIK (United States Army Military Government in Korea) ordinances which provide for absolute control of political parties and the press, constitute the precedents whereby Rhee always justified—with tacit American consent—his outrages.

UN OFFERS NO SOLUTION: The Rhee forces remain in the wings. Rhee himself might choose to run in the July elections. If not, his party will again come forward because, materially, it is the only going organization acceptable to the State Department.

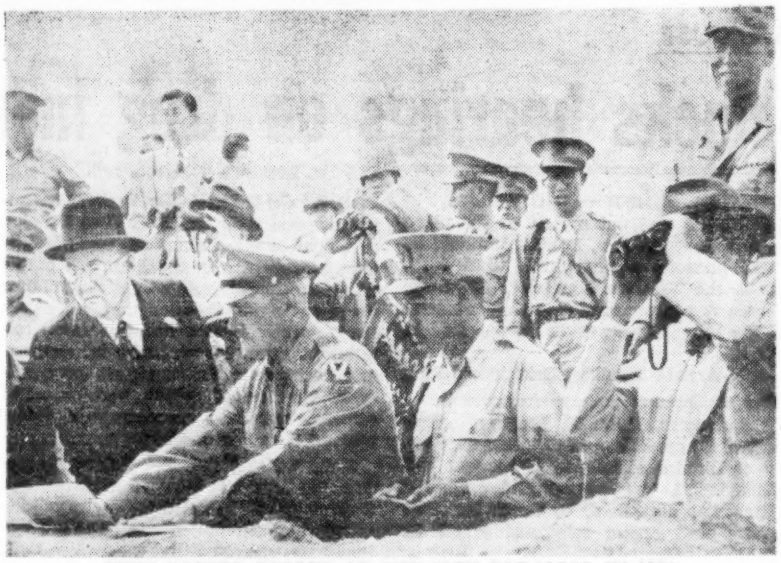
Promises of change—under a "reformed" Liberal Party with or without Rhee, or a token "opposition" group, like the Democratic Party of the late Chough Pyong Ok, acting as a substitute—would be demagogic, illusory and incapable of achievement under the present set-up in American-dominated South Korea. Nor can the Korean issue be resolved in the presently-constituted UN Political Committee on Korea. The UN's efforts in 1948-49 were futile; and India's and Sweden's attempt to set up reasonable conditions for all-Korea elections were obstructed by American policy.

The UN is held in such low esteem throughout Korea for its role in the Korean War that it could not hope to undertake the exceedingly complex task of holding all-Korean elections. But this need not prevent the State Department from taking up the issue again in the General Assembly, to buy more time for Washington to maintain the present status in Korea. Just as the reappearance of the Rhee forces will buy more time.

BRING TROOPS HOME: This too— in the long run—would prove unworkable. And the spectacular success of the recent uprisings in South Korea show that the Korean people are not prepared to wait indefinitely for their long-delayed progress, for unity of the agricultural south with the rich industrial north so that their nation may become whole and prosper.

The uprisings mark the failure of American policy in South Korea. In due time, Washington will of necessity be forced to acknowledge this failure just as it must ultimately acknowledge failure of its China policy and recognize Peking—and withdraw from Korea so that the Korean people may proceed to shape their destiny in their own way.

CHARLES R. ALLEN, JR., while serving in Army Intelligence throughout the Far East, was a member of the Political Advisory Group to the American delegation of the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Joint Commission in Korea from 1946 to 1948. A student of Korea's language and history, he has contributed to numerous general and scholarly periodicals on Korean affairs. He knew many of Korea's leaders—including Syngman Rhee—well.



JOHN FOSTER DULLES AT THE 38TH PARALLEL IN 1950
Six days after this famous photo, the Korean war started

In Free Berlin

IN THE PAST TEN years 15,434 anti-fascist and peace movement supporters have been arrested in West Berlin. In the recent Nazi outrages only 20 people were arrested.

These figures were given today by the Committee for the Protection of Democratic Rights and Defense of Patriots in West Berlin.

—Dispatch from Berlin in the London **Daily Worker**

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Civil defense 'fraud' sued for 30c

DESCRIBING CIVIL DEFENSE as "a monstrous fraud," 33-year-old civil engineer Michael Barclay of London is suing his local borough council for refund of the amount of his rates earmarked for that purpose. The amount involved is 30 cents for the last half-year.

At preliminary hearings last fall the Hampstead Borough Council failed in its application to have the case dismissed. It goes before the County Court on May 23. Barclay has retained barrister B. A. W. Merriton to argue his case, which will rest mainly on government documents showing the futility of civil defense against an H-bomb attack. Another document presented will be the U.S. Holifield Report which estimates that one-fourth of the U.S. population would be wiped out in a medium H-bomb attack.

"Our population is 20 times denser than that of the U.S.," said Barclay, "and any relief service here is pure nonsense." His legal costs may run up to $1,000 but he hopes to encourage people here and in other countries to follow his example. He lives with his wife and 7-year-old son at Trellis Cottage, Grove Palace, London NW 3.

Barclay's main professional work is building bridges. In Africa, where he spent six years, he worked on the Owen Falls dam in Uganda and was an administrative officer in Nigeria. His father organized the Peace Pledge Union and he is a lifelong pacifist.

A similar case has already been started against the Amersham (Buckinghamshire) Council by Hans Lobstein.

THE ANSWER TO THE BITTER PORTLAND STRIKE

Merger of all newspaper unions discussed

By Robert E. Light

FOR MORE THAN a quarter of a century many have believed that all newspaper employes belong in "one big union." But a narrow craft approach combined with a touch of white collar snobbery has kept them apart. Recently the first real steps toward union merger have taken place, due mostly to a common fear of automation and S. I. Newhouse, union-busting owner of the third largest U.S. newspaper chain.

On most papers employes are divided amongst a half-dozen unions: editorial and clerical workers are members of the American Newspaper Guild while mechanical workers are in separate craft unions—typographers, pressmen, stereotypers, photo-engravers and paper handlers. The unions have often bickered and crossed each other's picket lines. Some Guild members look down on mechanical workers, although the craftsmen often earn more and generally enjoy better working conditions.

For the most part, the division has not been a problem because when the unions stuck together in a strike, they shut down the paper. Publishers had not figured out a way to continue operating without skilled mechanical help. But recently Newhouse has shown the industry a way through the use of strike insurance and imported scabs. In Portland, Ore., despite a solid strike since last November, the Newhouse-owned **Oregonian** has not missed an issue. And a fear that the strike may be lost has moved four unions to begin merger negotiations.

ORIGINAL AIM: Through the years newspaper union officials, particularly at convention time, have pledged themselves to work for merger. Article I of the Guild Constitution, adopted 25 years ago, says that one of the purposes of the union shall be "to promote industrial unionism in the newspaper industry."

The Intl. Typographical Union (typesetters), most powerful and militant of the newspaper unions, particularly has pushed for merger. In 1934, Elmer Brown, then ITU chapel chairman at the New York **World-Telegram** urged the newly-formed Guild to form a "vertical union." He said: "It costs just as much for a suit of clothes for a rewrite man as for a linotype operator. A reporter can get just as hungry as a proofreader. It makes no difference whether a man works downstairs and gets his hands dirty or upstairs and keeps his collar clean."

At the Guild's 25th anniversary last year, Brown, now president of his union,

Photo by Edmund Y. Lee

NEWSPAPER STRIKERS' WIVES PICKET IN PORTLAND
They blocked a move to install armed guards at the struck plants

pledged "as a matter of principle and policy" to explore "every avenue that could lead to the formation of a permanent base for . . . cooperation."

A BEGINNING? Last month ITU and Guild officials began their first explorations. Six top officers from each union met April 18-19 at ITU headquarters in Indianapolis. In a joint statement the leaders said they were "agreed on the goal of 'one big union' in the printing, publishing and related industries."

The statement added: "Whether such unity takes the form of a merger, an amalgamation of existing unions or a new organization; whether it begins with a combination of two unions or several—are details which should not hinder us in the pursuit of our goal. The immediate need is for commitment among the unions in our field to the principle of unity and the will to work for its accomplishment."

Immediately the unions agreed to:

- Designate liaison representatives to function when either union is in a difficult bargaining situation.
- Exchange information.
- Combine some organizing drives.
- Explore the possibility of mobile printing plants to publish papers during strikes.
- Study a proposal for a common defense fund among all newspaper unions.
- Closer coordination of bargaining efforts.

A second meeting has been scheduled for June 15 in Colorado Springs. ITU officials are also discussing merger with the 35,000-member Lithographer's Union, which represents typesetters in non-newspaper and offset shops.

OTHER MOVES: At the same time leaders of the Intl. Printing Pressmen and the United Papermakers and Paperworkers met in Washington with a similar agenda. They pledged to work for unity among printing unions, acknowledging "the futility of two or more unions competing against each other in the fields of organization and collective bargaining." Declaring that their "ultimate objective is complete organic unity and full merger," the unions worked out an immediate program of cooperation almost identical with the ITU-Guild agreement.

Groundwork for the unity conferences was laid last March in Phoenix, Ariz., where craft union leaders met to coordinate Portland strike strategy. Pressmen vice president Walter J. Turner said additional talks were held "aimed at actual merger of all the graphic arts and paper trades unions."

In Portland the strike remained solid. It began last November 10 when the stereotypers walked out after the **Oregonian** management insisted that a new German-made plate-casting machine be manned when it arrived by one operator instead of four then employed. Other unions in the plant respected the stereotypers picket line and all but 14 Guild members refused to work. When the **Journal**, Portland's only other paper, refused to bargain separately, it was struck too.

SCABS & INSURANCE: The two papers joined forces to publish one edition called the **Oregon Journal and Oregonian** with the help of imported non-union craftsmen. To ease the financial burden—non-union help was paid at a very high rate—the publishers held strike insurance from Canadian firms.

While the joint paper was published at the **Oregonian** plant, local youths were trained at the **Journal** facilities.

Meanwhile the unions published their own paper, the Portland **Reporter**, written by striking Guildsmen and printed by craft union strikers. Teams of strikers went door-to-door urging people to cancel their subscriptions to the struck papers. An inter-union strike committee also sponsored daily news broadcasts on radio and TV spot commercials.

But by last month there were enough imported scabs and locally - trained youths for the struck papers to begin publishing separately. The **Journal** took advantage of the shutdown to install new automatic typesetting equipment. The newspapers resumed separate publishing with considerably less personnel than before the strike.

LONG WAY TO GO: The strikers—there were 850 at the start—have fought desperately to hold on, although some have gotten jobs in other cities and others have crossed the line. Circulation of the **Reporter** has grown to 100,000 and publication has recently gone to twice-weekly because of heavy advertising.

All strike activity has been consolidated under the leadership of Rene Valentine, ITU international representative, with the unions pooling funds. The international unions, with AFL-CIO support, have started a drive for state laws to prohibit recruiting strikebreakers by outside agencies. A bill to this effect was recently passed by the Rhode Island legislature. Bloor Schleppey, who supplied the Portland scabs, last month was fined $500 for violating a Pennsylvania anti-scab law.

Merger of the newspaper unions is still a long way off. If it is to come it will need more than just agreement on top; local leaders will have to overcome their reluctance to share their dukedoms. But a united organization of 500,000 members holds great promise for the people who produce our newspapers.

NEW YORK

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Friday, June 17

BASIC AGREEMENT SOUGHT ON VITAL PROBLEMS

Three left-wing groups form new party in France

By Anne Bauer
Guardian staff correspondent

PARIS

THREE LEFT-WING groups have merged here to form a new progressive opposition party, the Parti Socialiste Unifié (PSU). The organization held its first congress earlier this month in a Paris suburb with Sorbonne professor Laurant Schwartz presiding. Its directing board includes several well-known former Socialist Party deputies such as Daniel Mayer, Tanguy-Prigent, Robert Verdier and Alain Savary, and **France Observateur** editors Claude Bourdet and Giles Martinet.

The merging groups all came into being at about the time of the Fifth Republic. The Parti Socialiste Autonome (PSA), with a present membership of 18,000, broke from Guy Mollet's pro-Gaullist orthodox Socialist Party in September, 1958, under the leadership of Edouard Depreux. In the fall of 1959 it was joined by Pierre Mendès-France and his political friends. The Union de la Gauche Socialiste (UGS), with about 10,000 members today, was formed at the end of 1957 from several left-wing splinter groups, with Bourdet and Martinet prominent among its leaders. The third group is the Tribune du Communisme, an opposition group within the Communist Party that felt in July, 1958, that criticizing certain aspects of the CP was easier outside the party.

The new PSU has not resolved any of the ideological differences among the constituent groups. The UGS considers itself Marxist, and a small left-wing faction opposed to fusion with the PSA remains outside the new party. Within the PSA, disagreements persist, particularly between ex-SP and ex-Mendésist Radical members. Mendès-France himself did not attend the first PSU congress; the former Radical leader wants to remain in the rank and file and not participate in the leadership.

COMMON PROBLEMS: Despite ideological differences, the first PSU congress sought practical basic agreements on such issues as Algeria, disarmament, anti-clericalism and social progress.

Dominating all these problems is the question: What and who will come after de Gaulle? It is an alarming question, and one to which the French Left, badly battered by the events of the past few years, has found no concrete answer. Many have little doubt that fascism, aided by the Fifth Republic through the general political apathy it created as well as through making certain key positions accessible to Rightists, will be a very real threat the day de Gaulle disappears. But there is also little doubt that the old forms of Fourth Republic democracy are gone. Gilles Martinet said at the PSU congress: "It is an illusion to think that democracy can return the way it was before May, 1958." To Martinet, "the democratic alternative to the Gaullist regime is the Socialist alternative."

Politically, the importance of the PSU is in the creation of an organized anti-Gaullist opposition — outside the CP — that could be a catalyst in a future left-wing coalition. The PSU handicap is its small present membership. Its main hope is to win added support among the unorganized, the apolitical, and above all, among Guy Mollet's SP. It will be interesting to see in the months to come whether it can make serious inroads into the SP fortress with its petrified but old and powerful party machinery.

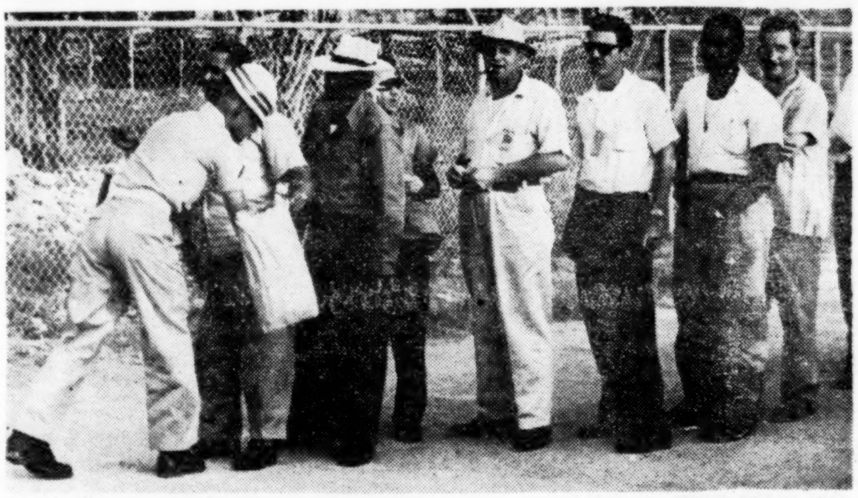
FIRING OF LABOR LEADER PROTESTED

Cubans suspicious of U. S. moves at Guantanamo Bay

In one of three notes handed to the Cuban government last month, the U.S. State Department rejected a Cuban protest over the firing of Federico Figueras Larrazabel, a lathe worker and secretary general of the Union of Cuban Workers, at the Guantanamo Bay U.S. Naval Base. The note asserted that Figueras had slandered the U.S. in public statements. The earlier Cuban protest had declared that all Cuban workers were subject to Cuban laws which protect their job rights.

The exchange of notes over Figueras brought a new wave of articles in the U.S. press sounding an alarm over the supposedly grave situation at Guantanamo Bay, and noting the "threat" of a strike by Cuban workers there, or a possible Cuban attempt to take over the base. In general the U.S. press indicated that U.S. naval authorities expected some Cuban action on the base.

The following dispatch from the city of Guantanamo gives the background of the situation there.



United Nations photo

A MARINE SEARCHES CUBAN WORKERS AT GUANTANAMO NAVAL BASE

Refusal to recognize union adds to tensions at U.S. installation

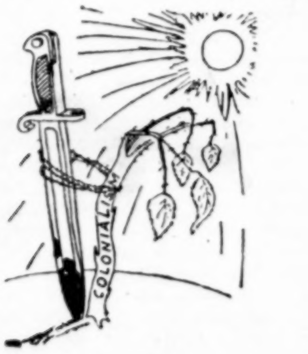
Special to the Guardian

GUANTANAMO, CUBA.

ON THE NIGHT of March 17, when U.S. authorities unloaded nine Sherman tanks at Guantanamo Bay, a Cuban mechanic who works there said: "They haven't had equipment like that here since World War II—not even during Korea." The tank landings received much publicity in the Cuban press, but not a single U.S. paper—many of which have emphasized reports of Cuban threats against the U.S. base—has mentioned it.

Besides the tanks, Cuban base workers said, there were also unloaded in the last six weeks new machine guns, mortars, bazookas, and at least 12 new amphibian jeeps equipped with radio transmitters (also unreported in the U.S. press).

This city of 100,000, 30 miles from the U.S. base, is beginning to worry because at least twice in the past two months U.S. Marines stationed at Guantanamo Bay have taken up "combat positions" along the entire border of the base, digging trenches and training machine guns and artillery at the little town of Caimanera, two miles away, and at the surrounding



mountains. The first such one-day "exercise" was Feb. 24, a Cuban national holiday celebrating independence from Spain; the second was March 8, four days after the munitions ship explosion in Havana harbor. In addition, workers report U.S. Marines in constant "guerrilla warfare" training along the base.

THE DISMISSAL: The touchiest incident in the tension between U.S. Naval authorities and Cuban workers here was the firing on March 25 of Figueras. A small, wiry man with penetrating eyes, Figueras had told the GUARDIAN on several occasions of persecution at the base. "More than once they threatened me with dismissal because I was talking to other workers," he said. He said he was pushed by a U.S. Navy lieutenant, shortly before he was fired, but refused to be provoked. "They said they would be watching me closely," he said.

Protests against Figueras' firing have already come from workers' federations in Venezuela and Mexico and the Argentine Students Union; newspaper articles condemning the "arbitrary dismissal" have appeared in Chile, Mexico, Colombia and Argentina.

The slander charged to Figueras consists of statements the union leader made to the **Sierra Maestra** (organ of the 26th of July Movement in Oriente Province) protesting working conditions at the base. These conditions are the main point of contention between the Base Workers Union and the base authorities. Cuban workers at Guantanamo not only get about half of what U.S. citizens earn there for the same work; they get less than Cuban workers outside the base receive for the same work. A longshoreman said he got 99 cents an hour at the base—"and that's the maximum." Outside longshoremen earn up to $30 a day. A Cuban solderer receiving $1.23 an hour at the base complained that North American solderers got $5.04 an hour at the base, plus expenses. Cuban solderers outside the base got $2 an hour.

OTHER GRIEVANCES: A major complaint publicized by Figueras is the food. Workers described it as "bad," "awful," and "inedible." An average lunch costs about $1. Other complaints:

- The searches: Every time a Cuban worker enters or leaves the base he or she is thoroughly searched, and the car is searched—under the hood, in the trunk, behind the seats.
- Medical treatment: "They tell us aspirin will cure anything from a fever to a fracture."
- Inadequate safety regulations: "Sometimes we are forced to repair ships so hot that the tools must be kept in water almost constantly."
- No retirement benefits for workers hired since 1951.
- Loyalty oaths: In order to get work at the base, an applicant must be thoroughly investigated by the U.S. Navy Intelligence Corps, must sign a non-communist affidavit, a no-strike pledge, and a pledge not to do anything against the interests of the U.S. government.

But the main demand of the union, which represents a majority of the 3,600 Cuban workers at the base, is for negotiations between the U.S. and Cuban governments to establish clear-cut labor regulations for the base. At present the base is governed by something called "Navy Civilian Personnel Instructions" promulgated by the U.S. Defense Department. The union charges that the base commander, Rear Adm. Frank Fenno, applies the NCPI arbitrarily, ignoring the sections calling for negotiations with workers and pay scales equal to those existing in the rest of the nation. "They apply what benefits the Navy and ignore what benefits the worker. A real state of anarchy exists insofar as labor regulations for Cuban employes," the union said.

RECOGNITION DENIED: U.S. authorities, however, refuse to recognize the Union. The official daily mimeographed U.S. publication at the base, **Papoose**, on March 27 referred to Figueras simply as "a labor leader at the Guantanamo installation." It made no mention of the union or of Figueras' protest. (Every issue of **Papoose** is marked: For official use only. Destroy after reading. This paper is not to be removed from the Naval Base).

Why do the Cuban workers stay? H. P. McNeal, industrial relations officer for the base, said the installation helps the Cuban economy and that workers get excellent treatment. In a letter to the union dated Feb. 23, 1960, he said that the charges of "dismal working conditions" and "practical slavery" are "soundly refuted by the constant stream of letters and applications being received from local residents, a majority of them from former base employes who are familiar with working conditions at the base."

The Union has a different story, however. If McNeal has been receiving applications, it said. He evidently hasn't acted favorably on any of them. It said that 200 (some say 400) Cubans have left the base since Fidel Castro's victory in January, 1959. Not one has been replaced.

Are the U.S. authorities really afraid of a Cuban attack on the base? No U.S. Marines have been permitted to enter Cuban territory since the revolution (the new government has insisted that Marines are subject to Cuban law). Adm. Fenno has been quoted as saying that the current policy is designed "to avoid incidents." Base workers report one sign on a U.S. cruiser (No. 6), signed by the captain, which reads: "If you like living, stay out of Cuban territory."

TREATIES RESPECTED: It is clear that the Cubans don't relish having some 8,000 foreign troops as neighbors. But Defense Minister Raul Castro made it equally clear in an interview March 30 that the Cuban government has no intention of acting against the base. "As long as the U.S. does not attack us," he said, "we will respect the treaties of 1903 and 1934—even though we might not like them." The treaties give the U.S. full control of the 28,000 acres "in perpetuity" in return for an annual payment of $2,000 in gold or about $3,400 in cash. The base commands the 48-mile passage between Cuba and Haiti, and is 696 miles from the Panama Canal.

U.S. officials are not helping matters by harboring Cuban war criminals at the base. A former Batista lieutenant named Corales, convicted of murder by a revolutionary tribunal and sentenced to 20 years, has been moving around the base with complete freedom for months. A former Batista police lieutenant, Jose Calzadilla, is currently chief of civilian (Cuban workers) investigation at the base. The freedom of the Batistianos today is contrasted with the suppression of all pro-Castro activities at the base when Fidel Castro and his men were in the nearby mountains.

TENSIONS PERSIST: Some workers think that U.S. authorities are trying to provoke a strike so they can fire all the Cubans. They say the Americans are prepared to bring in workers from Puerto Rico.

Other workers suspect something more. They cite the searches of Cuban workers, the new war equipment, the steady activity in base sections closed to Cubans, and a report that Cubans will soon be prohibited from sleeping at the base. They show an article by Joseph Alsop in the New York **Herald Tribune** of March 14 in which Alsop says he is "deeply convinced that the Marines ought to be called up . . . if Cuba is clearly becoming a Soviet base in the Western Hemisphere."

To the people of Guantanamo, the Marines do not need to be "called up." They are there. "If they call the Marines," one worker said, "this city will be the first place occupied."

U.S. authorities at the base still insist they are only taking defensive measures. But statements like Alsop's—and others—do not lessen Guantanamo's tension.

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CONTROL OF CANAL ZONE IS THE BASIC ISSUE

Resentment at U.S. still seethes in Panama

Special to the Guardian

PANAMA CITY

THE UNEASY TRUCE that now marks relations between the United States and this tiny Central American republic may erupt at any time into demonstrations and riots like those of last November. That is the considered opinion of both Panamanian and United States officials here, as well as the impression gained by a visitor from the U.S.

The grievances that led to the November outbreaks remain unsettled, despite the State Department's promises of concessions. And longstanding, underlying resentments against the Colossus of the North still seethe below the surface.

At the University of Panama, seat of nationalist fervor, signs carried by students in the November demonstrations are kept in readiness for any fresh outbreak of anti-U.S. sentiment. In this land of the traditionally very rich and very poor, it is the emergent and dissatisfied middle class, whose most articulate and militant spokesmen are students and their professors, which sparks revolt.

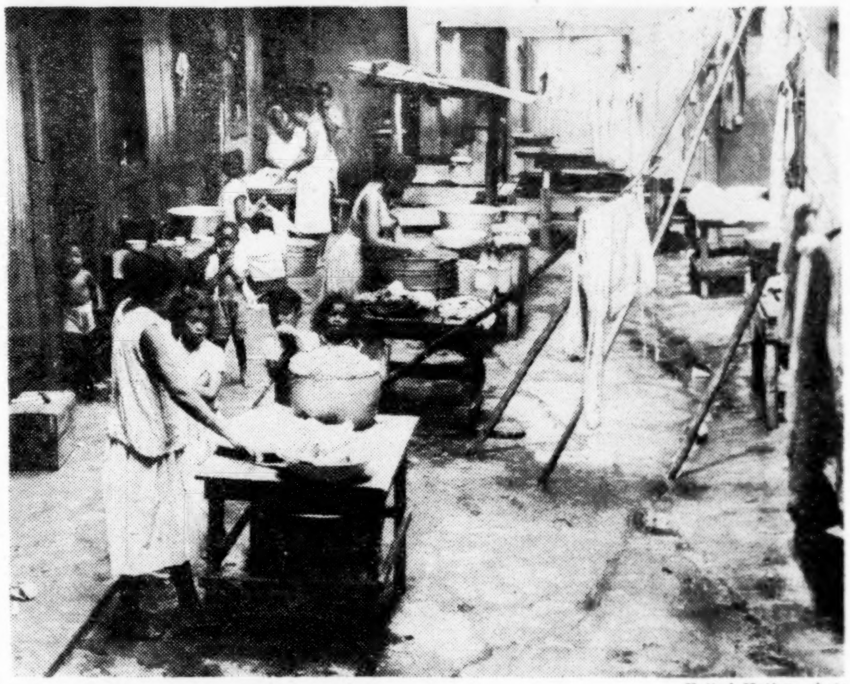
THE CRUX: Anti-gringoism centers today, as always, on U.S. control of the Panama Canal Zone, that ten-mile strip of high-value real estate which cuts the country in two. Panamanians cannot forget that the 1903 treaty which granted U.S. sovereignty over the Canal Zone was negotiated by a Frenchman, Philippe Bunau-Varilla, accepted in Panama without having been read, then rushed through the U.S. Senate and ratified a few hours before the expected arrival in Washington of Panamanians sent to assist Bunau-Varilla.

They regard the geography of the Isthmus, which made it the most logical spot for a shortcut between the Atlantic and Pacific, as a natural resource like the oil of Venezuela or the beauty and climate of the Virgin Islands. And they protest that the United States, not Panama, continues to reap the profits from this national geographical asset.

Panama receives only $1,950,000 annually from the U.S. for the "use" of the canal. Tolls have not been increased since the canal was first opened 47 years ago, because of the powerful maritime lobby in Washington. Panamanian "moderates" insist that Panama receive half the total receipts.

Another sore spot is job and wage discrimination against the 20,000 Panamanians employed in the Canal Zone. Americans employed in the zone receive a 25% tropical pay differential over and above what the government pays for such work in the territorial limits of the U.S. In addition, their salaries are tax-exempt.

THE PAY SCALES: Far from getting any such deal, Panamanian workers in the Zone are guaranteed a minimum wage of only 50c an hour. This is 10c more than the 40-cent statutory minimum in Panama City, but does not approach what Americans make. And the minimum does not apply to domestic workers, who are typically paid $40 a month, plus room and board. Last year the average Panamanian wage in the Zone was one-third the average American's.



United Nations photo

A TYPICAL 'SQUATTER' SLUM QUARTER IN PANAMA CITY

The U. S. rejects pleas to finance public housing projects

Demands of the workers for equal pay for equal work, for access to jobs now monopolized by whites, has met opposition not only from the Canal Company but also from Panamanian businessmen. The businessmen continue to bring private pressure to bear against wage hikes in the Zone, for fear higher wages would exert pressure on them to pay their own employes more.

Another source of continuing discontent is denial of commissary privileges to Panamanians who work in the Zone but live elsewhere. This ban was incorporated in a 1955 treaty at the insistence of Panamanian merchants who contended they were losing business to the commissaries, which offer savings of from 20% to 35%. The ban has helped the merchants but it has measurably hurt some 18,000 workers who have had to pay more for their food, clothing, furniture and the like as a consequence.

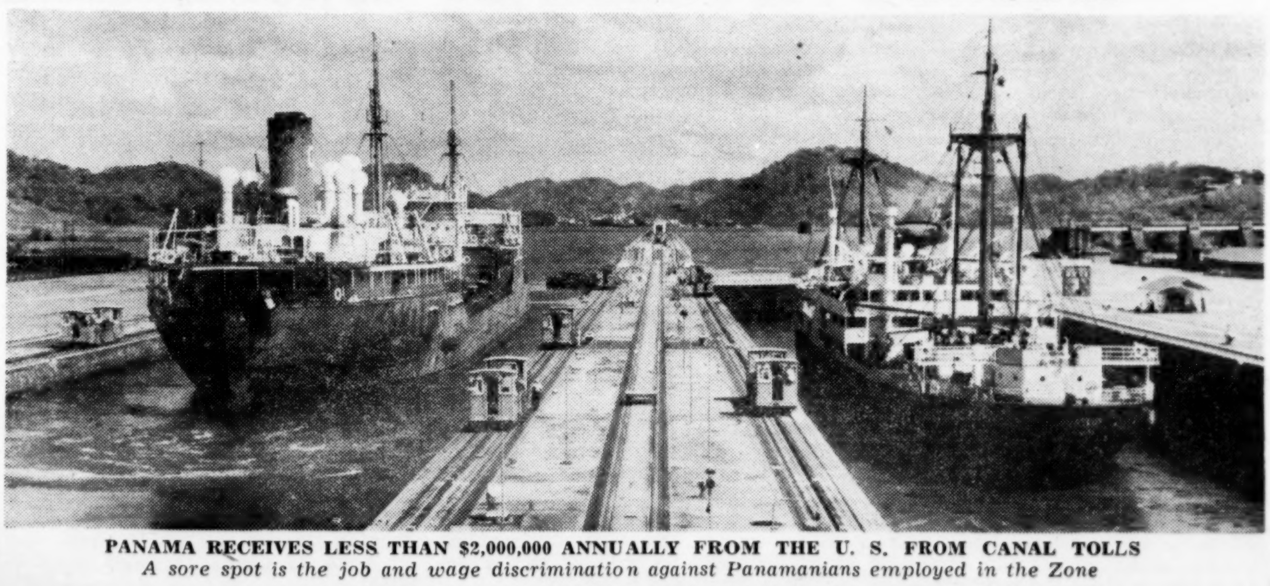
ALIENS ON OWN SOIL: But the thing that rankles deepest with all Panamanians is the feeling that they become aliens on their own soil as soon as they cross the ironically-named Fourth of July Avenue and enter the Zone. Most offensive of all is the colonial attitude of superiority the American residents of the Zone continue to display toward Panamanians.

Zonians live sheltered lives under a bureaucratic paternalism. They live in company houses, shop in company stores. Their antiseptic, snug, suburban way of life contrasts sharply with life outside the Zone. Outside in the cities there is color, cosmopolitanism, noise, bustle much poverty and dirt. Inside there are sedate towns where Uncle Sam provides for all the needs of the civilian Americans who run the canal and the military personnel stationed at Army, Air Force and Navy installations. All is order, routine, conformity and quiet.

Zonians who know or have bothered to learn Spanish eventually abandon its use unless it is absolutely necessary to converse with a maid or a gardener. They seek out and cherish company of their "own kind." Race prejudice is powerful, with some Zonians classing all Panamanians as colored "spiggotties."

THE EXPLOSION: True, some of the Zone's prosperity has rubbed off on Panama. But aside from higher tnan prevailing wages earned by Panamanians working in the Zone, the chief beneficiaries have been merchants catering to visiting American sailors and tourists and Zonians with the initiative to venture forth from their insulation and isolation.

Although the U.S. has given some Point Four aid ($1,500,000 this year), it has steadfastly rejected pleas to finance public housing projects, perhaps the country's greatest single need. In fact, Washington's record in this field is a minus; two years ago Zone authorities tore down a section of workers' homes as firetraps but did not replace them.



PANAMA RECEIVES LESS THAN $2,000,000 ANNUALLY FROM THE U. S. FROM CANAL TOLLS

A sore spot is the job and wage discrimination against Panamanians employed in the Zone

Bitterness over U.S. control and operation of the Canal Zone exploded on two days last November into demonstrations in which sign-carrying students and others tried to plant their flag alongside the American flag inside the Canal Zone.

REPEAT PERFORMANCE? Blocked by the bayonets of the U.S. Army and their own Guardia Nacionale, some of the demonstrators took to rock-slinging. They tore down the flag in front of the U.S. Embassy (it hasn't flown since), stoned the office of the U.S. Information Service, looted several American- and foreign-owned stores, and wrecked dozens of parking meters, which are resented here as a devilish gringo invention.

Since nothing has been solved since November, since the Army still refuses to allow Panama's flag to fly alongside the stars and stripes, further demonstrations remain likely.

At the University of Panama, now in summer (actually dry season) recess, six members of the Union de Estudiantes Universitarios (Union of University Students) brought out some of the signs they had carried in November and were prepared to carry again.

Spokesman for the group was a tall, well-built civil engineering student who had traveled in Mexico and the U.S. and spoke excellent English. He asked that his name not be used.

"The U.S. Embassy here," he explained, "looks on all Panamanian nationalists as Communists and denies them visas if they apply to go to the U.S."

EGYPT DID IT . . . : The number of Communists in Panama does not exceed

This cartoon from La Hora, a Panamanian newspaper, depicts Premier Nasser of Egypt talking on the telephone with President Arias of Panama.

100, most observers agree, and the CP is outlawed. Nevertheless, Spanish translations of socialist works are available, and one student proudly displayed a book of Khrushchev's speeches in the U.S., and read from it with appropriate oratorical flourishes.

"Only a few students are socialists," the civil engineering student went on, "but all of us are nationalists."

One reason for this is that the students, predominantly from middle-class homes (families with real money send their children to U.S. colleges) realize that many jobs now monopolized by Americans would open up if the U.S. pulled out. For instance, the civil engineering student could aspire to be a canal engineer.

Speaking for his companions as well as for himself, he said:

"We are not satisfied with proposals to split the canal revenues—half for the U.S. and half for us. We have no use for the idea of submitting the issue to the O.A.S. [Organization of American States] for arbitration; we know the U.S. dominates the O.A.S. Likewise with the idea of internationalizing the canal. The U.S., which owns most of the ships going through, would still dictate policy . . .

"Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal. Castro is going to nationalize sugar. And eventually we are going to nationalize the canal. If the U.S. doesn't give it to us, we will take it. Sooner or later we will take it.

"After all," he said, defiantly, "the canal is ours."

THE THEME OF THE MEETING WAS "POSITIVE ACTION"
Kenya leader Tom Mboya arrives in Ghana for a conference

The Free World as we know it

The following remarks were made on the floor of the House of Representatives on April 26 by Rep. William H. Meyer (D-Vt.):

MR. SPEAKER, when a Communist country holds an election we criticize the absence of choice in the balloting. According to our standards, such criticism is valid. Should we not be even more critical when such elections take place in what is called the free world?

Our press frequently refers to Formosa as a bastion of freedom in the Far East, but this is what happened in the recent election of Nationalist China:

First. President Chiang Kai-shek was the only candidate allowed on the ballot.

Second. The constitution was suspended for one day because it forbade a third term.

Third. The only way electors could vote aagainst Chiang was to cast a blank ballot and so they were thrown out as invalid.

Fourth. Eighty-five percent of the Formosans are native Taiwanese but they were allotted only 2% of the electoral vote . . . .

We have seen the results in South Korea of straying too far from professions of some form of democratic process.

We cannot justify that which is wrong on the grounds of expediency.

S. Africa suicide

(Continued from Page 1)

"indoctrination for apartheid is stressed."

Bigart noted that "in the cold autumn wind" the tribal leaders "were poorly dressed and some were barefoot." But the government spokesman assured him that the Africans were happy because "here they can make all the beer they want and the police won't interfere. They still have to carry passbooks, but police enforcement is less strict here."

THEY ARE LEARNING: In claiming a great victory when the African workers failed to launch a scheduled week-long strike on April 19, the government completely misinterpreted the event. The Africans were forced to go to work by lack of minimum food and financial reserves, by an enlarged and armed police force supported by armored cars and troops prodding the workers with bayonets.

The Africans are only temporarily checked; they are fast learning more effective methods of resistance by the very magnitude of government repression and reprisal. After a recent location raid, an African teacher told London **Observer** correspondent Anthony Sampson:

"We pack it away! We pack it away! We may not do anything at the time, but we pack everything the white man has ever done to us into a hard lump in the back of our minds—and then suddently it will take fire!"

GUNS UNDER PILLOWS: South African jails are bursting with political prisoners and cities are bristling with armed police, civilian guards armed with bayonets, troops and saracen tanks. But with all their belief in their invincibility, panicky whites are still buying up guns and keeping them under their pillows at night.

In these circumstances, the London **Times** said (April 22), "the recent pronouncements by Cabinet Ministers have made every common sense observer gasp at the folly of which deluded men are capable. The prize goes to Mr. De Wet Nel, the Minister of Bantu [African] Administration, for his 'Never have the Africans shown such cooperation with and trust in the white man'."

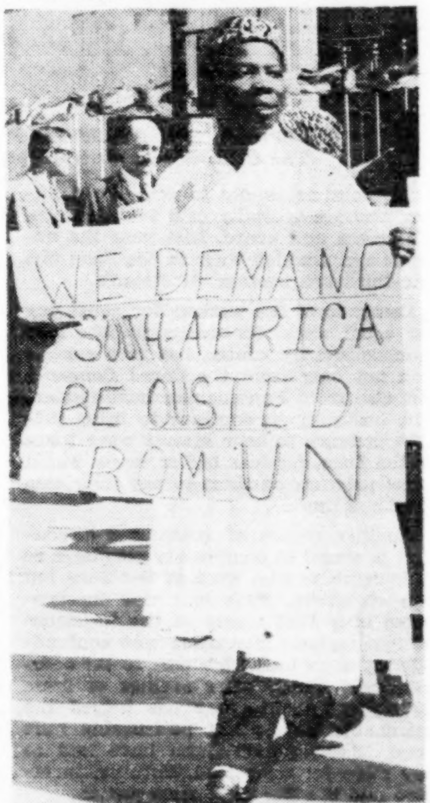
The Bantu Affairs Minister has gone even further by actively pushing the resettlement of Asians and the Coloreds (mixed ancestry) on less desirable land. In the process of shifting the Colored population, the government has revealed that its racist policy is driving it to the verge of lunacy.

In Durban, for instance, the board that allocates residential areas by color has started to invade the homes of white people who have been living not too far from the Colored area and demand proof of their "pure white blood." This has furnished opportunities for spiteful people to send anonymous tips to the board against neighbors they dislike.

THE TRIAL IS ON: The South African government is on trial before all Asians and Africans. Indian Premier Nehru, Ghana's Premier Nkrumah and Malayan Premier Rahman were pledged to raise the question of the South African government's behavior at the Commonwealth Ministers' Conference, which opened in London on May 3. The concern felt by other African nations was indicated at the April 13 African Freedom Day rally at New York's Town Hall, called by the American Committee on Africa.

At that conference, Northern Rhodesia African leader Kenneth Kaunda and Nyasaland African leader Dr. Hastings Banda, both involved in the struggle for the freedom of their own countries, nevertheless stressed the importance of immediate support for the Africans in South Africa. Dr. Banda reminded Americans that they had backed the "wrong horse in China" and warned them against making the same mistake in Africa by continuing to support France in Algeria and Verwoerd in South Africa.

BOYCOTT IS URGED: Several ways of putting pressure on the South African government have been suggested. The American Committee on Africa and other organizations have urged a total boycott of all South African commodities by the people and the government of the U.S.



A PLACARD OUTSIDE THE UN
The carrier is an African student

Dr. Yusuf Dadoo, leader of the Asians in South Africa who escaped to London last month, called for imposing economic sanctions on South Africa through the UN.

UN Secy. Gen. Hammarskjold, who had been instructed by the Security Council to consult the Verwoerd government, is scheduled to meet South African External Affairs Minister Eric Louw in London after the Commonwealth Ministers' Conference. It has been suggested that he remind Louw that the UN may reopen the question of South Africa's annexation of the mandated territory of South West Africa in violation of the Charter and impose economic sanctions as a penalty.

In the long run, however, the Africans in South Africa will have to win their freedom through their own efforts. They are aware of this and feel stronger than ever despite recent apparent setbacks. One of them told the London **Observer** correspondent after the attempted assassination of Verwoerd:

"Those white fellows are driving themselves crazy with fear. And we haven't even begun to put the pressure on."

Reuther to speak in N.Y. at SANE rally May 19

WALTER REUTHER, president of the United Auto Workers, will be one of the key speakers at the mass meeting of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy to be held in Madison Square Garden, New York City, May 19, 8 p.m.

G. Mennen Williams, Governor of Michigan, will also speak at the meeting which will be presided over by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and Dr. Harold Taylor, former president of Sarah Lawrence College. A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and Dr. Israel Goldstein will also speak. Harry Belafonte, singer-actor, and other artists will entertain.

Tickets and information may be obtained from the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, 17 E. 45th St., New York City, OX 7-2265. Admission is $10, $5, $3, $2, $1, and 50c (for students only).

Little Summit Conference in San Francisco May 13, 14

A LITTLE SUMMIT Conference will be held in San Francisco on May 13 and 14, prior to the opening of the Paris Summit Conference. Topics of discussion will be "Germany and the reduction of tensions," "Disarmament and the prevention of war," and "Economics of disarmament and the transition to peace." A walk and rally will be held at the San Francisco Civic Center and Union Square on Saturday, May 14, from 1:30 to 4 p.m., and a public meeting will be held that evening.

Sponsors of the conference include the American Friends Service Committee, the San Francisco Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice. Information may be obtained from the San Francisco Little Summit Conference, 210 Alma St., San Francisco 17, Calif., LO 4-3189 or SK 2-7766.

Save May 12 in N.Y.

A REMARKABLE film documenting the career of one of Hitler's generals who is now ground commander of the NATO forces in Europe will be shown at a GUARDIAN-sponsored meeting in New York May 12. The film, based on captured Nazi archives, traces the career of Gen. Hans Speidel from the '30s to the present.

The meeting, on "The New Rise of German Nazism," will also present James Aronson, editor of the GUARDIAN, and Russ Nixon, the paper's Washington correspondent, both of whom were active in the U.S. occupation forces in Germany at the end of World War II.

It will be held at the New York Center, 227 W. 46th St., Manhattan, beginning at 8 p.m. Admission is $1.50. For tickets and information, call ORegon 3-3800.

The reckoning must come . . . .

Following are excerpts from letters written by a white South African woman to a friend in the U.S. Names and places are not used for obvious reasons. The letter was smuggled out because of censorship.

MARCH 31

I NEED NOT TELL YOU what things are like here. We are living in suspense. When we wake up in our beds in the morning we automatically say, "So they have not been here yet." About 234 of our comrades were arrested yesterday morning. Things are moving so fast here. Twenty days ago I would not have imagined that the Africans in Capetown could show such determination, discipline and organization.

The needs of the people are so great. We have to gather money for food and clothing, money to hide people. Last week they confiscated duplicating machines, typewriters and 50,000 leaflets from our organizations. There are bills to be paid and we must get money for new machines to bring out material. The trouble is that we have so little time at our disposal, because how much longer are they going to leave free the few of us who are left . . .

What we particularly need is that the world should refuse to buy South African gold. We need lots of friends. . . .There are a good number of whites who are coming out on the side of the Africans, but the majority of whites—Nationalists, United Party and Progressives—are all accepting the Unlawful Organizations Bill.

APRIL 12

THIS IS A NOTE to tell you that when they came to take away the two of us, my husband and myself, at 6 a.m., we were not in the house. They searched under the beds, in the wardrobes, in the garden with flash lights. We are still out free. Our children are home with a cousin . . . The worst thing is the isolation, and so many of our comrades are in prison, (including my sister) and the rest are doing precisely what we are doing.

We are in for a period of reaction even much worse than the past years . . . The police brutality to Africans leaves us in a state of horror. They beat them so that the screams can be heard in houses far away. The day of reckoning must come. I am confident about the results, however painful it is going to be for us.

BOOKS

Bombs: A and non-A

SEVEN SHARES IN A GOLD MINE comes out as a Prometheus Paperback* right in step with the news of the day. The author, Margaret Larkin, is the wife of screen writer Albert Maltz, who has just been hired and fired by producer Frank Sinatra in a politico-literary farce which must make some folks sorry they expended all their indignation in behalf of Boris Pasternak.

While Miss Larkin's story has no connection with the foregoing except by marriage, it is newsy in its own right as a first-hand adventure and detective story of a bomb explosion in an airliner.

This one happened in Mexico. Miss Larkin and her ten-year-old daughter Kathy were among the passengers aboard the airliner when the bomb exploded in the baggage compartment. With the ship always in danger of flying apart from the airstream whipping through a gaping hole in the fuselage, the pilot maneuvered his wounded craft to an emergency airfield. Then begins an extraordinary story of crime detection, unmasking of plot and motive, and the calm administration of justice in Mexico.

THE "seven shares in a gold mine" are seven fellow passengers traveling to Oaxaca for jobs which turn out to be fictitious. All were heavily insured by the man who hired them. The stories of the intended victims and the bringing to punishment of two plotters compose Miss Larkin's absorbing story. She tells it from a personal viewpoint, not, however, that of a near victim, but of an able and painstaking journalist.

As such, she is freely admitted to the prison where the two schemers are held. One, a mining engineer and adventurer, the other a film and radio singing star wed to an aging concert artist, ply the **senora periodista** (woman reporter) with voluble protestations of innocence and involved accusations of each other which read like a sociologist's case histories.

THE MURDER TRIAL (for this is the same thing, with the victims alive) is an eye-opener in mode of procedure, with an apparent minimum of legalistic formality and structure, and seemingly uninhibited freedom of participation by defendants, witnesses, prosecution and defense.

Miss Larkin's unique and timely account should give its readers new insights not only into a wide spectrum of the lives of Mexican people, but into a system of justice apparently rooted in deeper concerns than juridical ritual.

**SEVEN SHARES IN A GOLD MINE, by Margaret Larkin. Simon & Schuster, New York, 1959. Reissued in paper by Prometheus Books, 100 W. 23rd St., New York City. 306 pp. $1.75 ($1 plus 25c handling to Liberty Book Club members.)*

•

IT IS THE REGRETTABLE DUTY of this Eric Ambler fan to report that our hero has joined the Cold War—if only for pot-boiling purposes. Fortunately he has not also taken up the white man's burden in the bargain. So the latest effort of the pre-eminent fictioneer in the world of international intrigue—**Passage of Arms**, Knopf, 246 pp., $3.95, about gun-running in Malaya—may be inept in its appraisal of the political forces at play, but it does not for a moment glorify the white man's role there, whether British, Dutch or parvenu American. In fact his central character, a tourist-meddler business man from Baltimore, is lucky to get out with a whole skin. In the process, his quaint views on native populations are doused to a fare-thee-well.

Eric Ambler knows all the angles, and is still the master cueman in the game of international intrigue, even if he plays too many of his shots off the red ball in this exhibition.

THEY'RE AGAINST THE SMEAR-AND-SPLASH SCHOOL OF ART
See the Spectator, p. 12, for story on the artists' revolt

•

THE MAN WHO WOULD BE GOD (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 449 pp., $4.95) is a novel created by its author, Haakon Chevalier, out of his personal experiences with the mobilization of scientists at the University of California at Berkeley in the wartime 1940's for the development of the A-bomb. This grouping included J. Robert Oppenheimer and at least partially came into the orbit of the Communist Party of that period. In the process of being cleared to master-mind top secret atomic work, Oppenheimer named and offered derogatory information against some of his associates of that period, including Chevalier.

The central character of **The Man Who Would Be God** follows this path. In the novel, this ultimately leads to an obsession with the concept of absolute power of the scientist over nature. Family, friends and the ethical goals of natural science are sacrificed to the ruling forces of ignorance in society, in what becomes a mania to ruin the universe so as to assert man's power over it.

Generally, in its human relations, the novel is neither well worked out nor notably well written. However, in its probing of the capitulation of science to imperio-militarist politics in the matter of employing the A-bomb against the cities and people of a doomed adversary, **The Man Who Would Be God** is extraordinarily perceptive and probably quite unerring.

—John T. McManus

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CIVIL RIGHTS ROUNDUP

Witch-hunt hits integrationists in S.F. May 10-13

THREE DAYS AFTER Rep. James Roosevelt (D-Calif.) denounced the House Committee on Un-American Activities and called for its abolition, 40 committee subpenas were served in Northern California for hearings on May 10-13 in San Francisco. In addition to a slap at Roosevelt, the hearings seem to be a continuation of the committee's harassment of people in the civil rights fight.

Of the persons subpenaed, 14 are Bay Area school teachers who were called by the committee last year. They never got to testify because the committee called off the hearings in face of a concerted attack. Roosevelt singled out the committee's shabby treatment of the teachers in his speech as a reason the committee should be abolished.

Sixteen of the persons called are active in the sympathy picketing in San Francisco of chain stores which refuse service to Negroes at their Southern lunch counters. Chairman of the hearings will be segregationist Rep. Edwin E. Willis (D-La.).

In Los Angeles on April 29, Mrs. Goldie Watson, a Negro school teacher in Philadelphia who was fired in 1954 after invoking the First Amendment before the Committee, told a meeting of 600 persons: "I invoked the First Amendment because there are many inequities that still exist against Negro Americans and unless we have the right to meet and to petition the government, there is no political freedom for us. If my right to test this amendment is a crime, we have reached a terrible state in America. And Negro Americans will be able to achieve nothing in such an atmosphere."

She outlined the activities of the committee against integrationists and committee counsel Richard Arens' connection with Wycliffe Draper, a millionaire industrialist who specializes in proving that Negroes are "genetically inferior."

The meeting was sponsored by the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, which has just published a pamphlet titled, "House Un-American Paid By Racist."

NO SECRET: Elsewhere on the civil rights front, the nation's newspapers and magazines seem to have "discovered" the Southern Negro student. They are full of stories examining him as they would a creature from outer space.

Who is he? What does he want? Where is he going? How will he get there?—These are the questions they ask.

But the Southern sitdown demonstrator has made no secret of his aims and aspirations and how he expects to achieve them. Below are statements from Negro student leaders in various Southern cities:

"THE YOUNG NEGRO IS REALIZING HIS RESPONSIBILITY. HE IS TAKING HIS SHARE OF THE LOAD."
Negro students' share of the load in Portsmouth, Va. included a fight with chain-swinging, hammer-wielding whites.

"I didn't have to come to college to learn how to adjust to segregation. I could have done that at home."
—A Tallahassee student jailed for a sitdown

"This is something that has to be done over and over again, and we are willing to do it as often as necessary. We strongly believe that [Rev.] Martin Luther King was right when he said, 'We've got to fill the jails in order to win our equal rights'."
—A girl student in a Tallahassee jail

"Young Negroes are tired of old answers." —William T. Greene, Johnson C. Smith College

"In the Air Force everyone works together and frequents the same clubs and the same local spots. After being accustomed to this environment in the service for a long length of time, you are less likely to accept the situation in the South." —Lacey C. Streeter, North Carolina College

"It has been 95 years since the end of the Civil War. Of course, some progress has been made, but it certainly could have been made more rapidly. There is no reason why it should not go faster . . .

"The young Negro is realizing his responsibility. He is taking his share of the load . . .

"When we started this thing we had a strong purpose. But after we stood in a court in a courthouse in America and had been tried for our freedom, our dedication doubled, tripled. This fight hasn't begun yet."
—Diane Nash, Fisk University

"Rev. King summed it up very well. 'The young Negro' he said, "is tired of this business of waiting around while nothing is being accomplished.' This dissatisfaction is coming to the forefront."
—Earl R. Mays, Fisk University

"We have something to look forward to and we are willing to sacrifice everything to get it."
—Annie Young, Alabama State College

"Passive resistance is the only practical means for a minority to gain its rights against a majority which commands the forces of violence."
—Anonymous student interviewed by **Ebony** magazine

"I disagree with some of the methods of Gandhi, but as a person and as a leader one cannot help admire him. But I admire Nehru more than I admire Gandhi and I admire Krishna Menon more than I admire Nehru."
—Anonymous student intervewed by Ebony magazine

"Some of the Negro leaders are pretty good, but there are not enough of them. There are not enough who will stand up for a principle."
—Ezell Blair Jr., one of the four North Carolina A&T freshmen who staged the first sitdown Feb. 1

"Youth of today are not pleased with the acquiescent leadership of the adults. We are no longer complacent and are ready to move ahead. Old leaders follow the methods of Booker T. Washington. Most of us are in favor of [Dr. W. E. B.] Du Bois."
—Joseph A. McNeil, one of the four North Carolina A&T freshmen who staged the first sitdown Feb. 1

The bell still tolls

HIROKO KAJIYAMA, 16, died yesterday at Hiroshima of leukemia which doctors said was caused by the atomic bomb dropped 15 years ago when she was 20 months old.
Cincinnati **Post & Times-Sstar,** April 6

IN MEMORIAM

With great sorrow, and a heavy heart, I address myself to my husband's many friends and associates. My beloved husband,

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PUBLICATIONS

JEWISH CURRENTS May issue just out features Moscow Letter refuting Life magazine, material in connection with Israeli Independence Day, short story by Irene Paull. Editor Morris Schappes describes how Jewish Community reacted to swastika events. Subscriptions $4 yearly ($4.50 outside USA). Single copies 40c. Jewish Currents, 22 E. 17th St. NYC 3

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THE GALLERY

IN SEATTLE LAST MONTH the King County Democratic party convention adopted a platform which included support for seating China in the UN. Other planks (1) opposed right-to-work laws; (2) supported the Southern sitdown demonstrations; (3) opposed legalized wire tapping; (4) favored repeal of the Walter-McCarran Immigration Act; (5) opposed loyalty oaths for students; and (6) urged extension of the State Anti-Discrimination Law to all housing, "including its application to real estate brokers." . . . Physicist Edward Teller said at a Natl. Strategy Seminar in California: "Not disarmament but more and better nuclear weapons in the hands of friendly nations should be the immediate goal of the United States." . . . William F. Buckley, editor of **National Review,** told students at Washington University in St. Louis: "The hesitation to threaten military force is a factor that seriously threatens the formulation of national security." He complained that "student pacificism" was prevalent on American campuses. He defined pacifism as a "Christian heresy that springs from critical misunderstandings." . . . Col. William R. Kintner of the Plans Division of the Assistant Chief of Staff for Miltiary Operations told a military-industrial symposium in Pittsburgh that the coffee break is part of the philosophy of the "free ride," which is the result of Russian ideology spread in this country in the last 20-30 years.

ALFRED SAFFREN and Carl Perisco used to manufacture children's coats in Philadelphia, but two years ago when they found their business going to the dogs, they switched to a new line: Canine Coats by Alfred. For the family pet, sizes 10 to 20, they offer: car coats, sailor coats, trench coats, raincoats, mink-trimmed coats, six-button bennies, boots, Ivy League caps, swim trunks, bathrobes and pajamas. Dogs who come for a fitting are measured from the nape of the neck to the base of the tail. Most customers can fit ready-made sizes, but Great Danes need made-to-order. Business is so good a competitor has arisen; Cap Snap Co., mnufacturers of Bow Wow dog coats. But Saffren says the competition doesn't bother him. With 58,000,000 dogs in the country, he said, "we've hardly scratched the surface." . . . A rock python from India in the Bronx Zoo laid 40 eggs April 11 and has had the hiccups since. Several years ago the same thing happened and the hiccups remained until the eggs hatched. A local reptile psychiatrist diagnosed her as psychopythonic . . . Arlo Pollock, an Ohio farmer, was fined $300 for killing an eagle. He had pleaded guilty to violation of a Federal law protecting eagles. For a year Pollock's turkey flock was raided by the eagle. Several times Pollock fired at the bird hoping to frighten it away but to no avail. Believing he had a right to protect his turkeys, Pollock ordered a farm hand to shoot the eagle. Later, he told the story to a retired game warden, who, in turn, reported it to the Federal Game Commission. After his sentencing, Pollock learned that to stay within the law he should have first requested a Federal permit to kill the eagle. The commission would not have given him one, but it would have taken steps to induce the bird to leave. If these failed, Pollock would have had to file for a permit in Washington. Turkey losses sustained while the red tape was being unraveled are not recoverable, Pollock was told.

London Evening Standard
"Remember—today's the day!"

FOR ITS NEW BUILDING the State Department, with approval of the Budget Bureau and the President, asked Congress for $180,080 to furnish a three-room suite to be used for official entertainment. In the reception and drawing rooms there will be an antique Adam console table ($1,980), a "jubilee" rug in a "special green color" ($8,730), two half-oval commodes ($1,781.12), two antique breakfront bookcases ($7,040) and an antique horseshoe table ($1,760). The dining room will have six chandeliers ($19,800), 20 dining tables ($5,500), 120 chairs ($25,546.80) and three wool rugs ($25,884.10). Drapes and curtains will cost $35,716.80. The building is located in a section of Washington that used to be called "Foggy Bottom." . . . The New York **Times** reported that William F. Quinn, governor of Hawaii, told the story in Washington of a Congressman (he wouldn't name him) who wrote to the State Department to say that one of his prominent constituents was going to Hawaii and could the department arrange to have our Ambassador there meet him. It would be nice, the Congressman added, if the Embassy provided an interpreter since his constituent spoke no Hawaiian. Quinn did not say how the State Department framed a diplomatic answer.

—Robert E. Light

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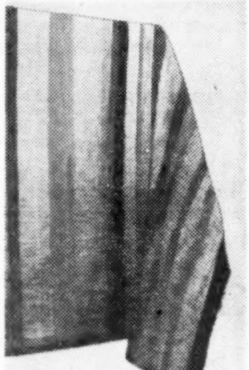

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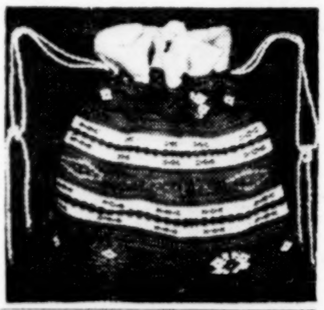

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NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

Revolt of the artist

SOME WEEKS AGO, in a review of Herbert Read's **Concise History of Modern Painting**, I wrote that abstract, non-objective, non-traditional painting has failed to win a mass audience anywhere in the world. I also pointed out that this was the only purportedly fine art to appear since the industrial revolution which was not overtly or covertly anti-bourgeois.

Our modernism had been preceded by such anti-capitalists as the revolutionary romantics and realists and by neo-primitive, neo-classical and neo-Gothic movements. Inherent in the meaning of such arts, it seems to me, was the statement that almost any kind of life was preferable to that in the industrial slums and factories.

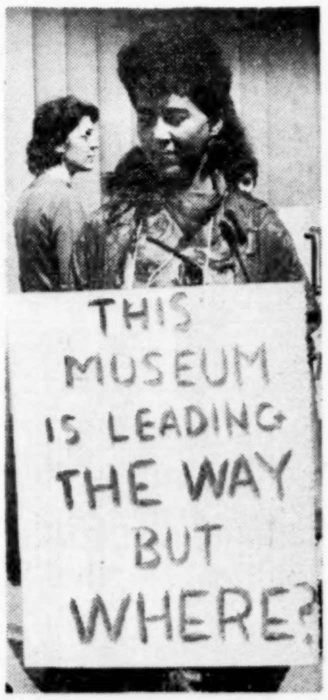
These traditionalistic forerunners of modernism had tried to condition men to comprehensible, if outdated, ways of looking at the world and themselves. They took intelligible positions. They attempted to develop an ideology, just as all the arts of the past had done.

MODERN PAINTING, with the exception of a few realists, has been the reverse of ideological. As it developed it tended more and more to avoid ideas and commitments. It has now evolved to the level where much of it is devoid of identifiable content. This new art—ideologically neutral or negative—I noted in my review, has won the approval of the museum and gallery directors in our big business centers. I asked whether this esthetic, taken over by the class responsible for such frauds as the South Sea Bubble, the Credit Mobilier and the Wall St. crashes, had not turned it, too, into a giant cultural swindle.

Some modern art partisans among GUARDIAN readers disagreed vehemently with me. The names of good works and of unquestionably able and honest contemporary painters were cited. I had planned a reply in which I could only repeat that such frauds as I posed could not have existed if the artists had not been forced into the modernistic mold by the bourgeois galleries and museums. One artist-reader thought that the masses failed to respond to modernism only because they "have already been taught to appreciate realistic works." Another saw the color photo as the only alternative to non-traditional modernism.

But before I could explain that I would not deny the artists' freedom to make mistakes as well as discoveries, events in the New York art world made a more pointed reply than I could have devised.

ON APRIL 21 a letter from well-known realist painters, including Edward Hopper, Robert Gwathmey, Jacob Lawrence, Jack Levine, Edward Melcarth, and Moses and Raphael Soyer, called the Whitney Museum of American Art to account. The writers complained that of the 145 paintings displayed at the last annual show, "102 were non-objective, 17 abstract and 17 semi-abstract, leaving only nine paintings in which the image had not receded or disappeared." (Counting the same show, Lloyd Goodrich, Whitney Director, found 19 representational works, 19 with free imagery and 23 semi-abstractions with "some degree of imagery." His score would read 84 abstract or non-objective paintings to 61 semi-abstract or realistic ones.)



A few days later, on Sunday, April 24, a spontaneously-gathered group of younger artists sprang up to challenge and picket New York's Museum of Modern Art. Among other things they charged that the museum had become a dilettante's club where an initiated elite was entertained with what often were childish absurdities. Sunday strolling passersby, and even gallery goers, joined in with "That's true," and "I'll say." They generally seemed to agree with the protestants.

MODERN MUSEUM DIRECTOR Rene d'Harnoncourt pointed out, perhaps defensively, that his institution was last picketed in 1940 by indignant abstractionists. It is likely that 1940 marked the end of the brief Depression Decade upsurge of intelligible and accessible fine art picture-making. Does the militant return today of the "figuratives" or realists forecast another change?

However remote easel painting and its problems may usually seem to the man in the street, if the arts are man's source of values and his principal emotional conditioning agents, as I have argued, then so fresh a sign as the advent of realist protests and pickets may herald other changes, however distant—just as the appearance, after years of critical double-talk, of a "realistic" critic (John Canaday) on the New York **Times** may be another small portent.

—**Robert Joyce**

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